

SECRET
INFORMAL

To: NIO/EUR

25 May 77

From: [] 25X1A

[] 25X1A

I'm taking this form of communicating with you informally on some problems I have with the basic concept of the "Eurocommunism" paper, which there was not sufficient time to discuss at the meeting this morning (and for which that meeting may not have been the best forum.)

Specifically, I don't think the draft addresses the question of Eurocommunism. ^{in an organizational sense.}
If the paper were entitled something like "Consequences of Entry Into Government of the PCF and PCI", I would not be troubled. My real problem is the difficulty I have accepting your definition of Eurocommunism in para one of the overview. While I certainly accept "Eurocommunism" as including certain shared attitudes of the PCU, PCF and PCE, I also believe that "Eurocommunism" has clearly perceptible ^(if rudimentary and embryonic) programmatic and structural aspects including, but not restricted to, the two or three major CPs under discussion. These are not discussed at all in the paper and I think we disserve customers if we do not make ~~xxxxxxx~~ some reference to these programmatic and structural aspects which are affecting not only the political philosophy of communism in Western Europe but the tactical style of the participating parties.

Items:

- a) One of the results of the Feb 74 Brussels Conference of Western European CPs was an effort to implement a system in which the WECPs would share information and facilities with respect to issues of common interest. An example which we have documented -- the CPGB was appointed as repository for information collected by all the WECPs on major multinational corporations. WECPs agreed to forward such information (in response to specific requirements) to the CPGB which would collate the information and make specific segments

available on request to the other CPs.

b) Another result of the Brussels 1974 Conference was the development of a format for multilateral WECF seminar meetings to find common ground on specific issues. A number of such meetings have been held since 1974 on topics like unemployment, inflation, currency control, women's rights, immigrant workers, etc. This is a real coordination function of WECFs (without involvement of the CPSU or other Bloc CPs) and represents, I think, an incipient structure.

c) There is a close "Eurocommunist" coordination in terms of WECF participation in European Institutions. At this time, this involves only the PCI and PCF, but the structuring of a bloc of Communist deputies to the European Parliament (which is a functioning working group, not simply titular) indicates an intention to coordinate positions of EC matters.

d) Within this context, I think the PCF's rather recent decision to withdraw its opposition to direct elections to the European Parliament, is a "Eurocommunist" event in two respects. First, it indicates a new willingness on the part of the PCF to let its policies be influenced by the arguments of other WECFs (principally, naturally, the PCI) and second it demonstrates an increased willingness of the PCF to permit itself to participate more actively than before in Community affairs. Significantly, this particular measure can be interpreted as a PCF "sacrifice" in favor of Eurocommunist unity -- the gesture gains them very little politically ^{in France} and could be expensive for them.

These are off the top of my head -- research would probably produce more and better examples. Finally, I think we should keep in mind that the WECFs are to meet in Brussels ~~on~~ beginning 6 June. This is the first 'plenary' meeting of all the WECFs since the Feb 74 meeting. Strictly viscerally (I have no advance info to support), I would not be surprised if this new Brussels meeting created a permanent structure

WECP

for/policy coordination and mutual tactical reinforcement. This would be a real defiance of the CPSU and the approach would have to be tentative -- perhaps a 'permanent committee of collaboration' rather than a secretariat. While there is no point in speculating about this in the paper, it is going to appear just about the time of the 6 June Brussels meeting. In any event, I think a ~~paper~~ paper entitled "Eurocommunism" will be ~~an~~ incomplete if there is no reference to the perceptible organizational aspects of the movement.

